

The San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution

Interim Report

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of the
City and County of San Francisco, California

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The Work of the San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution

The San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution began its work in March of 1994, as chartered by a resolution introduced by Supervisor Terence Hallinan, passed by the Board of Supervisors and signed by the Mayor (see Legal Issues Committee Report, Exhibit A). The Task Force consists of 28 members, including representatives of neighborhood groups, prostitutes' advocacy and HIV organizations, and municipal and other agencies directly concerned with prostitution and related issues, including the Public Defender and District Attorney.

The Task Force has met monthly, from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. on the second Tuesday of each month, at the offices of the San Francisco Human Rights Commission (25 Van Ness Avenue, 8th Floor, San Francisco). The bulk of the work of the Task Force, however, has been performed by the Task Force's four committees and through the individual members' participation in them.

These committees have focused on areas of particular importance as far as the issue of prostitution is concerned: the Health, Safety, and Services Committee, the Legal and Fiscal Impact Committee, the Neighborhood Issues Committee, and the Research Committee.

The work of the San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution will be completed in March of 1995 with the submission of a final report to the Board of Supervisors. It is anticipated that the final report will provide a comprehensive look at the issue of prostitution in the City and County of San Francisco and make proposals to address perceived shortcomings in the manner in which the issue is currently being addressed.

The mandate of the Task Force on Prostitution also requires that an interim report on the progress of the group's work be submitted to the Board of Supervisors in September of 1994. This is that report.

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The Interim Report of the San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution: An Introduction

The Challenge

From the outset, the very word "prostitution" can raise eyebrows as well as questions. The word itself is offensive to many who understand it to be pejorative, since it has come to carry negative connotations in the English language¹. To some, prostitution's very existence in their community is offensive, since they see it as bringing with it both health and safety risks, while for others, it is a viable, if problematic, way to earn a living, at least in the short term.

We bring forth these examples only to illustrate the acute challenges faced by a diverse group of nearly 30 people addressing a critical public policy issue while talking about such charged subjects as sex and drugs. Prostitution is a matter which, by its very nature, touches upon such core topics as sexuality, social mores, poverty, public health, and law enforcement, all within the context of a world which often discriminates on the basis of race, gender, and class -- discrimination that is carried out within the practice of the sex industry, as well as in the enforcement of the laws against it.

Discussions about used condoms in neighborhood residents' doorways and about police entrapment and brutality can bring forth heartfelt passions. Moreover, AIDS, poverty, and safety in the streets are issues of critical concern in San Francisco in the 1990's in any case; when they are added to a discussion of prostitution, it can call forth a volatile combination of deeply-held beliefs and strongly-held opinions, often based on the participants' personal experiences, some as prostitutes, some as customers, some as bystanders, some as neighborhood residents, and some, sadly, as victims of an imperfect world.

It bears noting that the human desire for sexual contact, the very *raison d'être* of prostitution from the client's side, is too complex an issue for the Task Force to examine as a factor, yet it is an ever-present underlying factor and renders the existence of prostitution a universal, historical and global fact.

The San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution is a unique government-chartered body that was formed to attempt to find solutions to the tensions between

¹ "Whore means prostitute. And a prostitute is a woman who offers to hire her body for indiscriminate sexual intercourse," according to The Concise Oxford Dictionary. The original meaning of "prostitute" comes from the latin, "prostituere," or to expose for sale, or to cause to stand, in The Random House Dictionary of the English Language, 1966. Prostitute is further defined as a verb: "to prostitute oneself is to sell one's honor for base gain or to put one's abilities to infamous use ... A prostitute thus becomes one who sells her honor by offering to hire her body for base gain or for an unworthy doing, specifically sexual intercourse." Gail Pheterson, "The Whore Stigma: Female Dishonor and Male Unworthiness," Social Text, Winter 1994.

community residents and prostitutes in this city. Community residents are often bothered by certain aspects of street prostitution, whether it be finding used condoms and needles left in doorways and alleys, or the noise made by the people who congregate in the areas where street prostitutes work. Prostitutes, on the other hand, including those working on and off the street, seek relief from years of legal and social repression, and want to find ways to improve their working conditions and to reduce the occupational safety and health hazards associated with illegal prostitution.

Although a number of other cities have formed similar task forces, including Atlanta, Georgia; Minneapolis, Minnesota; Portland, Oregon; and San Diego, California, the San Francisco task force realized early on that it could not simply adopt the recommendations of task forces created in other cities. San Francisco's municipal laws are unique and have particular impact on residents of our city (see Legal and Fiscal Impact Committee report). Moreover, the history of prostitution in San Francisco, documented in several sources² (see Research Committee, Bibliography), is specific to this city and leaves us with its colorful heritage.

Ironing Out Differences

For the reasons outlined above, the work of the Task Force thus far has been marked by periodic instances of strong disagreement, sometimes frustrating to many of the participants. As an illustration we present here some of the comments made by Task Force members for the Interim Report.

Sex Worker Representative:

"Neighborhood/merchant group representatives have been frustrated with the difficulty of addressing their concerns regarding the atmosphere on the streets in their neighborhoods, and their objections to street prostitution. It has been difficult for some community members to participate in discussions which deconstruct prostitution as crime, police as custodian, and the state as an appropriate regulatory body ... It is also difficult to address concerns of residents who are negatively impacted by prostitution in a context that prioritizes the needs of prostitutes. The discussions have often resulted in frustrated discord and competition between prostitutes' advocates and other residents. On the other hand prostitutes' rights advocates point out the importance and basic difficulty of equitably addressing issues of street prostitution in the context of criminalization of prostitution (in addition to racism, classism, transphobia, etc.) ... Overall the Neighborhood Issues Committee has educated all involved to the range of perspectives of members. Neighborhood forums have been very informative. Some committee members

² Sources include: Jacqueline Barnhart, *The Fair but Frail: Prostitution in San Francisco 1849-1900*. Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1986. Herbert Asbury, *The Barbary Coast*. Long Beach, CA: Brown & Nourse, 1949.

have crossed boundaries to begin discussions about how these groups could work together to promote health and safety for San Franciscans in general."

Most of this discord was to be found on the Neighborhood Issues Committee, where some neighborhood organization representatives and prostitutes' advocates organization representatives clashed over the methodology employed in gathering survey information, as well as over other topics.

Neighborhood Organization Representative:

"I don't believe we have accomplished much other than to confirm that there are two points of view on the [Neighborhood] committee: the prostitutes' point of view and the non-prostitute point of view. Though I adhere to the latter, I can now claim to be familiar with the former. Some would suggest that prostitution is a neighborhood amenity like schools, libraries, parks and shopping districts, but the great majority of neighborhood residents (many of whom are low-income and working poor - no elitism here!) are tired of the drug-crazed whores working our streets nearly twenty-four hours a day and keeping us awake all night. The self-appointed experts and representatives of prostitution on our committee are completely unknown to the 'girls' working my block of the Tenderloin, and furthermore they say they don't need anyone representing them at City Hall."

In spite of the challenges to finding a common ground for discourse, many of these earlier sources of conflict had been reduced by August. There is no doubt that the months ahead will pose continuing challenges arising from differing understandings of the critical issues to be resolved, as well as differing views on how best to approach them. Nonetheless, the work of the Task Force thus far, which has been characterized by well-attended meetings and dedicated efforts between them, is reason enough to believe that the next six months will feature a commitment to resolving the pressing issues arising from prostitution in San Francisco.

The Task Force and Its Committees

It should be noted at the outset that prostitution is illegal in California³. Nonetheless, various estimates cite figures of between three and five thousand

³ 647 (b) from APPENDIX IV. California Laws Affecting Prostitution (1987) - PC Section 647. Disorderly conduct. Every person who commits any of the following acts is guilty of disorderly conduct, a misdemeanor: (b) Who solicits or who agrees to engage in any act of prostitution. A person agrees to engage in an act of prostitution when, with specific intent to engage, he or she manifests an acceptance of an offer or solicitation to so engage, regardless of whether the offer was made by a person who also possessed the specific intent to engage in prostitution. No agreement to engage in an act of prostitution shall constitute a violation of this subdivision unless some act, beside the agreement, be done within this state in furtherance of the commission of an act of prostitution by the person agreeing to engage in the act. As used in this subdivision, 'prostitution' includes any lewd act between persons for money or

persons⁴ who currently practice prostitution in San Francisco (depending on one's definition of prostitution). Prostitution, according to its broadest definition, is practiced in numerous venues and circumstances, including the streets, parlors and studios, brothels, fetish businesses, clubs and bars, private homes, escort services, and independent in-call and out-call businesses.

Thus, merely defining the parameters of the issue of prostitution is a challenge. What is the "prostitution problem," if any? Clearly, sex work is an activity unique neither to San Francisco nor to this particular era. Within the San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution, there has generally been no agreement as to what the primary "problem" is, yet everyone on the Task Force has expressed serious concerns about one or another *aspect* of prostitution in San Francisco today.

For this reason, the work of the four committees has been particularly important. Task Force members have naturally tended to become involved with those committees whose subject matter is of most concern to them. Some Task Force members have served on more than one committee.

The primary work of the Task Force and its committees thus far has been the gathering of information and facts relevant to the question of prostitution, in order to provide a common understanding of the matter upon which the ensuing phase of the Task Force's work can be based. This information has been gathered through interviews; questionnaires; research of existing databases, libraries, journals, books, newsletters, and newspapers; and the exchange of unique experiences, expertise, and information each Task Force member brings to the table.

It should be noted that the San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution has no money budgeted for its work, including for any incidental photocopying, computer time, or other ancillary costs, and the efforts of its participants have taken place on a volunteer basis.

The Interim Report

This is a status report describing the activities of the Task Force thus far and outlining the highlights of the information which has been gathered. It contains no substantive recommendations, for that will be the purpose of the final report due in March of 1995.

The Task Force's work over the ensuing six months will concentrate on using the information and understanding which has been gained thus far so as to arrive at substantive recommendations.

other consideration. (See Legal Committee, Exhibits A and B for other laws that apply to prostitution.)

⁴ Miller, Laura, They Work Hard for The Money, San Francisco Weekly, p.13, March 30, 1994.

This report consists primarily of an overview of the extensive information-gathering efforts of the four committees. There are no general conclusions *per se*, other than those to be found in the individual reports in the appendices which include compilations of individual committee members' observations, some of which may differ in style and approach.

Unfortunately, the body of this report does not contain sufficient room to present the complete results of six months' worth of intensive research. Hundreds of pages of material have been gathered, and it would not make sense to include it all within the report or even as appendices to the report; reproduction costs alone would be prohibitive. The report is, however, supplemented by an index referring to the aforementioned appendices of supporting materials.

A complete version is being submitted to the Board of Supervisors; interested readers are invited to request the complete version or see the exhibits and supporting materials by making contact with the office of Supervisor Terence Hallinan, City Hall, Room 235, San Francisco, California 94102, telephone (415) 554-7766, fax (415) 554-7765.

A Final Note

The San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution would like to acknowledge the participation and assistance of Priscilla Alexander, Daisy Anarchy, Erin Crane, Carol Draizen, Lori Nairne, Dawn Passar, and the many others who have helped us in our work.

The past six months have been an opportunity for a committed group of San Franciscans to find some common ground in the framing of some very difficult questions. The next six months will provide even greater opportunity as we seek answers to those questions.

The Health, Safety, and Services Committee

I. Introduction

The Health, Safety and Services Committee (occasionally referred to as the Health Committee below) examined topics within the three areas specified in the name of the committee.

Health topics included information in seven areas:

- physical and mental health of prostitutes;
- sexual practices, including safe sex practices and promotion of condom use;
- drug and alcohol use and abuse;
- violence, abuse, and rape within and outside the context of work;
- mandatory HIV and STD (sexually transmitted disease) testing;
- issues specific to transgendered prostitutes; and
- access to services both in and out of jail.

Safety issues focused on working conditions for prostitutes, including their vulnerability to violence from customers, partners, pimps, and the police. A related area included jail conditions, an issue of more direct concern to those who work on the street.

Service issues included a study of both availability and accessibility of services, including:

- services for physical and mental health;
- services for youth;
- alcohol and drug-related programs;
- violence-related services including direct crisis intervention and legal assistance;
- housing, shelter, and subsidy services; and
- programs to provide alternative job and skills training.

The committee was particularly concerned that the information compiled by the Task Force reflect the diversity of prostitutes in San Francisco with regard to class, race, gender identity, etc. Early in the process, the committee noted the very different experiences of those who work in different parts of the industry, and differing levels of access to health care, safety, and services. Committee members insisted that a committed effort be made to obtain information from a variety of persons engaged in sex work and those who provide services to them, specifically including youth, transgendered women, and women of color. This effort was facilitated by committee members who reflected direct experience in prostitution, provision of health care services, safer sex practices and health, and efforts to organize prostitutes in order to improve working conditions. As part of this effort, an Outreach Subcommittee was formed.

II. Reports and Areas of Investigation

A. Outreach Subcommittee

Since marginalization and criminalization discourage most working prostitutes, including street workers, from participating in the activities of the Task Force, some Health, Safety and Services Committee members have been concerned about issues of representation on the Task Force. "Sunshine laws"⁵ also contribute to this difficulty. In order to address these concerns, and to facilitate the representation on the Task Force of prostitutes belonging to different economic and racial groups (particularly in the case of street workers, who would be most affected by any changes), the Health, Safety and Services Committee formed an Outreach Subcommittee. This subcommittee is currently involved in a collaborative outreach project which includes outreach workers (including current and former prostitutes) from a variety of communities and programs in San Francisco.

B. Health Care

Some of those who work in prostitution have little or no health care. This is, in part, a reflection of who they are: often young, poor, with a low level of education and high levels of illiteracy. When trying to gain access to public health care for personal health care needs, they are often faced with hostile and judgmental attitudes. A major constraint on the performance and expansion of public health care service is the lack of funds and of sufficient staff. Furthermore, the long history of close connections between public health care and drug programs on the one hand, and the law enforcement efforts directed against prostitution and drug use on the other, including mandatory HIV testing, serves to deter those who need services from seeking them.

California State Penal Code, 647 (f) stipulates mandatory HIV testing of individuals "convicted one or more times (of prostitution)." If test results are positive and the defendant was informed of the results, any additional prostitution offense will be charged as a felony (see Research Committee, Exhibit A, Article 017).

Prostitutes and other sex workers frequently have extensive knowledge of prevention of HIV and other STD's, and are perhaps more likely to practice safer sex and insist on condom use with their clients than are other sexually active adults in their personal sexual relationships⁶.

⁵ Since San Francisco legislation requires that all Task Force meetings be given adequate notice and be open to the general public and media, those offering testimony may be vulnerable to retribution.

⁶ Cohen, J.B., Derish P. and Sweat M., Different Types of Prostitution Show Wide Variations in HIV and Other STD Disease Risks. Presented at VIII International Conference on AIDS, Amsterdam, 1992. OD. 5609.

As a result of the stigma and marginalization of the various sex trades, there is a lack of information regarding specific health risks for workers in sex trade venues in general. Research needs to be done regarding occupational safety and health issues, including insurance and disability benefits, clinic accessibility, and workplace safety standards.

C. AIDS and Sexual Health

CDC Summaries and Commentary (Exhibit A)

The material collected in this report includes Centers for Disease Control summaries as well as analyses and additional materials submitted by Priscilla Alexander (Co-Coordinator, National Task Force on Prostitution, former consultant, World Health Organization), Dr. Judith Cohen (Director, Project AWARE and Health, Safety, and Services Committee member) and Alison Murray, Ph.D. (Australia).

These reports include information regarding condom efficacy, non-oxynol 9, the Today Sponge, male to female transmission, etc. The Health Committee is investigating options for timely distribution of the latest information about AIDS and sexual health to service providers.

AIDS Prevention/Education Resources and Services

Prostitutes (including those involved in sex-drug exchange and survival sex⁷) are part of broader communities, and may be likely to gain access to services through community-based providers. Testimony from some providers indicates that they perceive discrimination in terms of allocation of funds for AIDS-related services as far as race, class and gender are concerned. Local research should be compiled to examine the allocation of resources to all affected populations, specifically as it applies to prostitutes, and those involved in sex-drug exchange and survival sex.

In the United States, statistics from the Office for AIDS Surveillance have thus far shown that prostitute women do not generally spread HIV. The book "Prostitute Women and AIDS: Resisting the Virus of Repression," by the English Collective of Prostitutes, with an introduction by US PROS, provides documented evidence that prostitute women are not spreading HIV.

⁷ Although professional prostitution involves the exchange of sexual services for money, the term according to Penal Code 647 (b) refers to "... any lewd act between persons for money or other consideration." Sex-drug trade (or sex-drug exchange) involves providing sex in exchange for drugs. "Survival sex" usually refers to sex in exchange for basic sustenance, including food and shelter, sometimes within the context of a relationship.

Female Condoms

The Health Committee is examining ways to facilitate the use and distribution of the female condom to prostitutes in San Francisco. In a committee report, Barbara Rezucha (AIDS Hotline at the San Francisco AIDS Foundation) stated that she receives many calls from sex workers wanting to know the latest information regarding safety. According to reports coming in to Ms. Rezucha, there are still clients who harass women if they insist on using condoms, which has a particular impact on workers in more adverse circumstances.

AIDS Education Targeting Heterosexual/Bisexual Men, Including Clients of Prostitutes

Some committee members have expressed concern regarding the level of prevention funding that has been targeted to educate clients, or men likely to be clients, in San Francisco and elsewhere in the United States. Committee members are compiling information about campaigns (in Amsterdam, Thailand, Germany, etc.) that target these populations.

D. Proposed Memo of Understanding between Police Department and Health Department Regarding Condom Confiscation (Exhibit B)

A memorandum of understanding (based on a similar, expired memo from 1988) regarding condom confiscation is attached. In September, Health Committee members submitted the proposed memo to the Harm Reduction Task Force before finalizing recommendations.

E. Services for Prostitutes: Resources and Issues

Availability and Accessibility

The Health, Safety, and Services Committee is compiling information about the availability and accessibility of various services to communities of prostitutes in San Francisco. Exhibit D contains an initial list of service providers, including organizations and agencies which provide resources, information or services to prostitutes.

Programs in the Jails

A study of programs and services available to women in jails is being undertaken by the Health Committee in conjunction with the Legal Issues Committee. Materials attached include interviews with jail program facilitators (Health Committee Report Exhibit C). Please refer to materials in Legal Committee Report Exhibit G for statistical data.

Gender-Specific Drug Treatment

Service providers and health care professionals who work with individuals with drug problems (including persons involved in sex-drug exchange) advocate strongly for more programs that serve women exclusively, so that women's issues and relationships can be appropriately addressed.

F. Women and Violence at the Workplace: **Report for Commission on the Status of Women (Exhibit E)**

This preliminary report was prepared for the Commission on the Status of Women's joint committees addressing violence and women in the workplace as it affects women (including transgendered women) in various aspects of the sex trades, from prostitution to erotic performance venues. The Health Committee submitted a request to collaborate further with the joint committees of the Commission on the Status of Women, as part of the current study addressing "Violence Against Women in the Workplace."

G. Safety, Stigma and the Law

Prepared in conjunction with the National Organization for Women's California State Prostitution Committee, below is a summary of a report attached (Exhibit F) concerning violence and abuse of prostitutes.

Factors Contributing to Abuse

There are wide differences among prostitutes in different circumstances regarding the degree of work-related violence they experience. Issues include the stigma attached to the work, increasing mistreatment in all levels of prostitution; illegal status, increasing the risk of violent encounters and preventing recourse through the law; socioeconomic class, culture, racism, sexism, age, gender and drug use as factors regarding abuse; vulnerability and drug addiction; difficulties in reporting abuse in the context of criminalization; specific vulnerability of street workers⁸; survival sex, homeless youth, and sex workers as survivors of child abuse; misrepresentation of statistical and other data so as to "pathologize" prostitutes.

Police Harassment and Abuse⁹

According to the *Report of Police Harassment of Prostitutes* by the US PROStitutes Collective and to Jeremy Hay, a reporter with the *Tenderloin Times* (see Legal

⁸ 1981 study by Mimi Silbert of Delancey Street Foundation found that in one group of street workers, 70% had been raped on the job, some among those 8 to 10 times a year. Only 7% sought help; only 4% reported the rape to police.

⁹ Although some police officers are abusive, it should be remembered that others are respectful and fair-minded, and they would like to see the perpetrators of violence against prostitutes brought to justice.

Committee Exhibit L), some prostitutes targeted by police are subjected to racist, transphobic (irrational fear of transgendered individuals), homophobic, or misogynist remarks; placed in increased physical danger through ineffective law enforcement strategies; asked to trade sexual favors in exchange for not being arrested (then being arrested anyway after cooperating); fondled during arrest; beaten and hurt without cause during the arrest process; and discriminated against and harassed within the criminal justice system.¹⁰ Reporting abuse is difficult, as prostitutes risk retaliation.¹¹

Murders¹²

Serial murder is examined as a serious issues for street prostitutes. Rapists and murderers are aware of the vulnerability of prostitutes, especially of street workers, as well as of the widespread societal and legal system tolerance of violence against them.¹³ According to the *Report of Police Harassment of Prostitutes* by the US PROStitutes Collective, serial murders of women historically often begin with prostitutes before moving on to other women, and there is concern regarding the speed with which the police have responded to the murder of prostitutes, particularly in the case of African American sex workers¹⁴.

Coercion, Fraud and Abusive Relationships

Vulnerable persons, sometimes adolescents, are often coerced or misled into prostitution, then threatened with violence or other types of retaliation when they attempt to leave.¹⁵ A similar description could also apply to the relationships of many non-prostitutes, as observed in numerous cases of domestic violence.

Pimping and Pandering

This report discusses the effects of California Penal Code Section 266 (h), defining a pimp as anyone who knowingly derives support or maintenance wholly or in part from the earnings of a prostitute, which is a felony offense. As a result of this definition, family members (children, parents) and domestic partners are threatened with felony pimping charges. At the same time, some prostitutes (factored by age,

¹⁰ Jeremy Hay, "You're Under Arrest, Spread Your Legs," Gauntlet, Issue #7, 1994, pp. 20-32.

¹¹ Citizens' complaints are often ineffective as evidenced by a recent case in which 25 Office of Citizen Complaints reports were found missing.

¹² Prostitutes are also victims of robbery, which may also include rape and/or murder. In a recent case in September of 1994, a woman was murdered as she was reportedly caught in the cross fire between two rival gangs. Their vulnerability also makes them prime targets for extortion.

¹³ A 1986 study by Diana Prince reports that prostitutes are murdered at a rate four times that of women in general. In comparison, 4 out of 10 cases of deaths at the workplace for women are due to murder. Wagner, Michael, Domestic Violence Goes To Work, S.F. Examiner, September 5, 1994 (pp. A-3).

¹⁴ Report of Police Harassment of Prostitutes, US PROStitutes Collective, p. 5 (Exhibit F).

¹⁵ There is no evidence which proves that the personal relationships of prostitutes as a group in the United States are more violent or destructive than those of non-prostitutes.

socioeconomic class, work venue, etc.) are particularly vulnerable to abuse and violence in relationships.¹⁶

According to California Penal Code Section 266 (i), pandering, which is anything construed as prompting or encouraging prostitution, is technically a felony; when two prostitutes work together, the police may charge one of them with pandering. Fear of the pandering law exacerbates vulnerability as it discourages prostitutes from sharing information to increase safety.¹⁷

Summary

The state pimping and pandering laws do not distinguish between ethical, consensual, mutually beneficial business arrangements or relationships, and those which are not. Because any activities which could be interpreted as promoting or profiting from prostitution are criminalized, prostitution-affiliated businesses are forced to deny their real activities and use euphemisms behind which to hide. The result of this is a lack of adequate protection for prostitutes, because their real health and safety concerns cannot be addressed in a straightforward manner. The businesses cannot be adequately regulated in the workers' interests, and exploitative, dangerous conditions are much more difficult to counteract due to the underground nature of the work. In addition there is a lack of redress targeting the real exploiters and abusers.

H. Domestic Violence Services and Crisis Intervention, Accessibility to Prostitutes

Though prostitutes may not be involved in abusive relationships, when they are, they are at another disadvantage because domestic violence intervention services rarely engage in outreach specifically to prostitutes. There is very limited, if any, research done, and training is not available to counselors regarding prostitutes' specific needs in cases of domestic violence.

III. Guest Speakers

Priscilla Alexander attended the May 16th meeting of the Health, Safety and Services Committee and discussed a range of issues based on her expertise as a former consultant to the World Health Organization, and her nearly twenty years of experience as an advocate for prostitutes' rights as co-coordinator of the National Task Force on Prostitution (Exhibit G).

¹⁶ It is important to look beyond stereotypes and keep in mind that these relationships or arrangements may or may not be abusive. They might serve the prostitute's own purposes, i.e., perhaps he minds the children and home while she works. This type of relationship may parallel those of many non-prostitutes, but it is illegal and stigmatized since the money is derived from prostitution.

¹⁷ They may want to tell others of a safer, more pleasant place to work, or a dangerous place to avoid, or to teach each other how to protect themselves from health risks, or even educate the public about their work in a manner which differs from its usual negative connotation.

Joseph Kramer is a sex educator with a Masters in Theology from the Jesuit School of Theology in Berkeley. Director of Eros Spirit Research Institute, and founder of the Body Electric School of Massage, Kramer discussed the current application of erotic massage as healing therapy in the gay community, specifically beneficial to people with AIDS, as well as others. Kramer taught the majority of male sex workers in the Bay Area who practice erotic massage, and proposed that these services be recognized as legitimate, and that erotic touch be decriminalized (Exhibit H).

Barbara Rezucha of the San Francisco AIDS Foundation discussed her work on the AIDS Hotline and the numerous requests for up-to-date information concerning AIDS and sexual health, specifically emphasizing the female condom.

IV. Exhibits: Health, Safety and Services Committee

The following reports are attached as exhibits:

- A. AIDS and Sexual Health - Relevant CDC summaries and reports by Priscilla Alexander, Dr. Judith Cohen (U.S.) and Alison Murray, Ph.D. (Australia)
- B. Memo of Understanding between the Police and Health Departments - Memo regarding condom confiscation and harassment of sex workers as far as condoms are concerned
- C. Jail Study - Programs for women in jails
- D. Services: Resources and Issues - Preliminary list of service providers
- E. Violence in The Workplace - Report compiled for the Commission on the Status of Women, including materials from the Exotic Dancers' Alliance
- F. Safety, Stigma and The Law - Report prepared in conjunction with the National Organization for Women, Prostitution Committee
- G. Guest Speaker, Priscilla Alexander - Notes from Ms. Alexander's presentation to the Health Committee
- H. Guest Speaker, Joseph Kramer - Notes from Mr. Kramer's presentation to the Health Committee

The Legal and Fiscal Impact Committee

I. Introduction

The Legal and Fiscal Impact Committee (occasionally referred to as the Legal Committee below) of the Task Force on Prostitution began meeting in March, after the work of the Task Force commenced. The meetings were well-attended, both by Task Force members and additional participants. Moreover, we were fortunate to have guest speakers come to several meetings.

At the first meeting it was decided that individual members would focus on particular topics which they would research and summarize in written reports, to be compiled and added to during the term of the Task Force. Binders were donated to the Task Force members for the purpose of organizing our information. Ultimately our committee will use the individual reports to assist us as we prepare our final report and recommendations.

At subsequent meetings, members gave regular reports and updates on their projects. New issues arose at each meeting, which were discussed, and in some cases, actions were taken.

II. Reports and Areas of Investigation

A. Ad Hoc Testimony and Confidentiality Committee

Confidentiality for Persons Testifying Before the Task Force

Gathering substantial accurate and reliable information from sex workers for the Task Force on Prostitution was an initial concern of the Task Force as a whole, as well as of members of the Legal Committee. Those concerned felt that live testimony would be more credible than anonymous reports, but were concerned that such testimony would subject the witnesses to criminal prosecution and/or harassment, since prostitution is illegal in the City and County of San Francisco. At the second Task Force meeting, members voted to form an ad hoc committee, including members of the Legal Committee, to address issues of confidentiality and testimony. The ad hoc committee met directly after the Legal Committee meetings in May and June, and agreed to produce guidelines for the taking of testimony from prostitutes and other persons concerned about potential legal repercussions.

Additionally, attempts were made to obtain an informal immunity agreement with the Police Department and the District Attorney's office. However, the District Attorney's office has indicated an unwillingness to provide immunity for persons testifying. Accordingly, the Legal Committee has concluded that persons testifying will have to be referred to attorneys for advisement, and that they may wish to

provide information to the Task Force anonymously by testifying behind a screen or with a mask, or through taped or written statements.

B. Senate Bill 1884

California Senate Bill 1884 would have made it illegal for publishers to advertise the services of masseuses who are prostitutes or who have sustained prostitution-related convictions. Committee members were concerned that this bill violated the First Amendment. The bill has been defeated, but the Legal Committee is concerned that it could be considered again in the future. Committee member Grace Suarez provided a legal analysis demonstrating the unconstitutionality of the bill, and Carol Stuart from the Office of State Senator Milton Marks provided the voting record of the Senators (Exhibit M).

C. Municipal Police Code Violations Resulting in Jail Time with No Right to Court Hearing

Persons cited for Municipal Police Code violations (gesturing, stepping off the sidewalk) frequently accrue thousands of dollars in fines. If unpaid, the fines turn into outstanding warrants for failures to appear. A judge was in the practice of sentencing persons to straight jail time or the Sheriff's Work Alternative Program (essentially a jail sentence) for contempts, without ever bringing such persons into a courtroom. The Legal Committee feels that this is a violation of due process of law. Grace Suarez and Celia McGuinness filed a writ of habeas corpus successfully challenging this action in one case. This practice was subsequently discontinued.

D. Arrests Made During Police Sweeps Are Not Prosecuted

Many persons arrested during police sweeps are routinely kept overnight or over the weekend and then discharged at the time of arraignment. Grace Suarez submitted a report containing statistics on current prosecutions for violations of Municipal Police Code sections 215, 225, and 240, demonstrating the likely unconstitutionality of these ordinances and that most cases end up being dismissed outright (Exhibit I). The Legal Committee feels that this practice is a form of harassment and a waste of taxpayer money. It is in the process of studying ways to challenge this use of these ordinances.

After a major street sweep in April of 1994, the Task Force passed a resolution to the following effect: the Task Force should explore how street sweeps affect different communities impacted, including prostitutes, particularly people of color, transgendered people, immigrants and other residents, with particular reference to the violations of sex workers' civil rights. The coordinating mechanism will be that individual committees should look at the street sweeps and send their recommendations to the Executive Committee, which will make a report to the Task Force.

E. Prostitutes Are Punished for Carrying Condoms

It has been reported that prostitutes are harassed by some police officers for carrying condoms, and that police officers confiscate and/or sabotage them. In addition, the District Attorney's office has been using the fact of condom possession to prove the overt act element of the crime of solicitation.

Since a major, and nearly universal, component of the public health response to the AIDS pandemic has been to encourage the use of condoms to halt the transmission of HIV, the District Attorney's policy has operated in direct opposition to this serious public health concern, and may in fact discourage the possession, and therefore use, of condoms by prostitutes who would otherwise be eager to carry and utilize them.

As a result, the Legal Committee agreed to ask the Board of Supervisors to mandate an end to this practice. The Task Force on Prostitution concurred, and it passed a resolution, a very similar version of which was introduced by Supervisors Terence Hallinan and Angela Alioto and passed by the Board of Supervisors (Exhibit P) in June. Additionally, the San Francisco Bar Association passed a similar resolution. Initially, at least one attorney in the Office of the District Attorney indicated that his office would refuse to honor these resolutions.

As stated in the Legal Committee's resolution, the City and County of San Francisco has declared a state of emergency as a result of the AIDS pandemic. The District Attorney's policy has run directly counter to the Board of Supervisors', the Mayor's and local health officers' position on this matter. Pursuant to Health and Safety Code section 24800, "every person charged with the performance of any duty under the laws of this state relating to the preservation of the public health, who willfully neglects or refuses to perform the same, is guilty of a misdemeanor," and therefore the City and County of San Francisco has been forcing Public Health Department Director Dr. Sandra Hernández to violate state law.

Pursuant to a request by Supervisor Terence Hallinan, the Board of Supervisors asked District Attorney Arlo Smith to appear before them on September 7, 1994, to explain his reasons for refusing to honor their resolution. At the September 7 meeting, District Attorney Smith announced that for a six month trial period, he will not use condoms as evidence in prostitution-related cases.

F. San Francisco Chronicle Article

An article published in the San Francisco Chronicle on April 13, 1994 contained identifiable photographs of alleged prostitutes and customers arrested in an undercover sting. US PROStitutes Collective (a prostitutes' advocacy group) organized a picket outside the Chronicle building on April 26, 1994 to protest what it felt to be a biased and sensationalistic article, and has since met with editors about this and to ask that they not publish photos in the future.

G. Legal Committee Participation in Neighborhood Committee Forums

Members of the Legal Committee made presentations at the Neighborhood Committee's Mission Forum, and reported that the majority of citizens attending felt that the prosecution of prostitutes is a waste of taxpayers' money. A committee member also made a presentation at the Neighborhood Committee's Polk Street Forum. Our committee has discussed the Neighborhood Committee's questionnaire, and is considering conducting our own survey in some form.

H. Dialogue with the District Attorney

The Legal Committee feels that the credibility of the Task Force on Prostitution depends in part upon the participation of the San Francisco Police Department and the District Attorney's office. The Police Department representative, Gary Pisciotto, is a member of the Legal Committee and has provided valuable information to that committee. Ongoing discussions are taking place with the Office of the District Attorney regarding the progress of the work of the Task Force on Prostitution, and a copy of this report is being forwarded to the Office of the District Attorney.

III. Completed Reports

The following reports are attached as exhibits:

- A. Statutes and Municipal Police Code ordinances relating to prostitution, and an analysis of the elements required to establish violations of those statutes (Grace Suarez)
- B. Additional statutes relating to prostitution, including relevant portions of the California Constitution, Civil Code, Education Code, Health and Safety Code, Vehicle Code and Welfare and Institutions Code (Carol Stuart)
- C. Court statistics on arrests, charges and convictions from January 1992 to the present, and collateral effects of enforcement relating to AFDC and GA (Celia McGuinness)
- D. Arrest statistics for the years 1991, 1992 and 1993; Division of Labor in Vice Crimes Unit; Training of police officers to deal with prostitution (Gary Pisciotto)
- E. Immigration Consequences of Prostitution-Related Convictions (Dominic Perez)
- F. Report of Police Harassment of Prostitutes (US PROStitutes Collective)
- G. Sex Trade Workers in Custody (Carol Leigh)

H. Condoms as Court Evidence; Mandatory HIV Testing; AIDS services in prison (Teri Goodson)

I. Constitutionality of police sweeps and problems faced by persons arrested for Municipal Police Code violations (Grace Suarez)

J. Massage Parlor Licensing. The Crookedest Game of All: Stud Poke Her (Margo St. James)

K. Massage parlor permits (Erin Crane)

L. Human Rights Violations of Sex Trade Workers in San Francisco (Carol Leigh)

M. Analysis of Senate Bill 1884, which would have made it a misdemeanor for newspapers to publish advertisements for sex workers (Grace Suarez)

Voting record of members of Senate Judiciary Committee on SB 1884 (Carol Stuart)

N. Report re: Prostitution laws and conditions in Germany by guest speaker, German Parliament member, Christina Schenk (Carol Leigh)

O. Registration, Mandatory Testing, and Health Certificates: The Record, by guest speaker Priscilla Alexander (Consultant, World Health Organization)

IV. Additional Areas of Ongoing Study

Possibility and mechanics of preemption of state law, and its political implications (Michael Stepanian and Erin Crane)

Post-conviction matters (Carol Draizen)

Difficulties in processing complaints by sex workers; Reluctance of sex workers to report crimes.

Advertisement involving male prostitutes, and other issues related to male prostitutes (Vic St. Blaise)

Effect of prostitution law on juveniles (Daisy Anarchy)

Possible participation in a field poll.

Massage parlors (Adam Tau)

Economic benefits to the city of prostitution (Carol Draizen and Vic St. Blaise)

Survey about police officers' attitudes towards prostitutes (Carol Leigh)

Different policies among different police stations within the city, focusing on the Tenderloin area

A case study from investigation to adjudication including investigation reports, taped conversations, transcripts, police reports, motions, court documents, probation reports, dispositions and ultimate adjudication

Methods of increased communication between sex workers and neighborhood groups, and between sex workers and law enforcement

V. Guest Speakers

Christina Schenk, a member of the German Parliament, gave a report for our committee regarding the status of sex workers in Germany (Exhibit N, report by Carol Leigh)

Priscilla Alexander gave a report on registration, mandatory testing and health certificates (Exhibit O)

The Neighborhood Issues Committee

I. Introduction

In May of 1994, the Neighborhood Issues Committee established the following overall objective: "To establish a means of gathering information from neighborhood areas most affected by all aspects of sex workers. We will use the information as a means to improve the neighborhood environments for all concerned."

The summaries below briefly indicate the areas of discussion and inquiry. Please refer to the Exhibits for detailed reports on the items below.

II. Reports and Areas of Investigation

A. Community Forums

The Neighborhood Issues Committee agreed to participate in three neighborhood forums with the purpose of gathering information through neighborhood/merchants' organizations. The committee participated in two forums thus far:

The "Mission Community Forum" was presented at Horace Mann Middle School on June 15, 1994. The forum was hosted by the Mayor's Mission Task Force on Public Safety through Ethel Newlin, and by the Task Force on Prostitution's Neighborhood Issues committee through Ron Norlin (Exhibit A).

Neighborhood Issues Committee members attended a meeting of the Polk District Merchants' Association (PDMA) on July 21, 1994. This session was organized by committee member (and PDMA president) Gary Zodrow for the purpose of obtaining testimony from association members. Task Force members Jean-Paul Samaha and Celia McGuinness made short presentations (Exhibit B).

B. Questionnaires

The Neighborhood Issues Committee created an ad hoc Questionnaire Subcommittee charged with the task of developing a questionnaire for merchants and residents of neighborhoods upon which street prostitution has had disproportionate impact, and with reporting its findings to the Task Force (Exhibit C).

The Committee also formed a subcommittee charged with creating and facilitating a questionnaire for the purpose of gathering information from prostitutes working in the street (Exhibit D).

C. Committee Discussions

This Neighborhood Issues Committee of the San Francisco Task Force on Prostitution is unique in that it may well be the only such body in the United States that provides a forum at which neighborhood group representatives can meet with prostitutes' representatives to discuss solutions. Some discussions have been tense and explosive. At the same time there has been constructive collaboration. Attached reports include materials (Exhibit E, G, H) presenting some of the diverse perspectives and experiences of Neighborhood Issues Committee participants.

Issues discussed included: street prostitution being seen as unacceptable; the need to assist prostitutes to find alternatives to their lifestyles; the adverse effect of street prostitution on children, female residents and the elderly; the enforcement of prostitution laws; economic and racial diversity with regard to committee discussion of prostitution in neighborhoods; prostitutes as part of communities; analysis of anti-(street) prostitution priorities; gentrification; drug use and street prostitution; abuse of prostitutes by vigilantes and others in the neighborhood; prostitution and related crime; loss of safety, loss of property values.

D. Testimony

In July the Neighborhood Issues Committee heard testimony from Dr. Robert Gorter, a Dutch physician currently on leave from San Francisco General Hospital and whose practice has included prostitutes in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. As a current resident of Berlin, Germany, Dr. Gorter was able to offer a great deal of information about prostitution within various European countries (Exhibit F).

E. Mediation and Dialogue

Mediation between neighborhood residents and prostitutes working in the street has been discussed upon occasion by committee members, as well as by Supervisor Hallinan. Community Boards (a non-profit, city-funded mediation group) was represented at many early Neighborhood Issues Committee meetings.

Collaborative efforts between certain merchants and prostitutes working in the street have been reported. Some merchants have established a dialogue with street prostitutes in their neighborhoods that may provide a model for future discussions. A resident from one neighborhood suggested that, as noise was a major issue in the resident's neighborhood, perhaps a noise abatement project could involve collaboration through peer outreach workers.

III. Exhibits: The Neighborhood Issues Committee

The following reports are attached as exhibits:

- A. Mission Community Forum - Includes reports and minutes from the neighborhood forum presented at Horace Mann Middle School on June 15, 1994. The forum was hosted by the Mayor's Mission Task Force on Public Safety through Ethel Newlin, and by the Task Force on Prostitution Neighborhood Issues committee through Ron Norlin.
- B. Polk District Merchants' Association Forum: Minutes from Polk Street Merchants' meeting of July 21, 1994. Organized by committee member Gary Zodrow, President of the Polk District Merchants' Association; short presentations by Task Force members Jean-Paul Samaha and Celia McGuinness.
- C. Neighborhood/Merchants' Association Questionnaire - This exhibit is a preliminary introduction to the questionnaire distributed through Neighborhood groups to Polk Street neighborhood and Mission Neighborhood residents.
- D. Sex Workers' Questionnaire (in progress) - The sex workers' survey is submitted as a work-in-progress. Subcommittee member Gloria Lockett, Director of Cal PEP (California Prostitutes' Education Project), will volunteer her services for distribution and information-gathering among street prostitutes.
- E. Perspectives on Street Prostitution in the Neighborhoods - This section contains submissions by committee members describing issues from diverse perspectives regarding perceptions, community representation, committee process and problem-solving strategies.
- F. Notes from Report by Dr. Robert Gorter. - Dr. Gorter, a Dutch physician currently on leave from San Francisco General Hospital and a resident of Berlin, Germany, has treated prostitutes in Amsterdam (and other cities) for many years. He reports on a range of subjects including, public attitudes concerning prostitution, safe sex practices, migration patterns and prostitutes' self-help groups.
- G. Transgender Women and Prostitution - In this report by community activist, co-founder Transgender Nation, Christine Tayleur discusses problems and issues specific to transgendered people in the context neighborhood concerns.
- H. Prostitutes and Communities - This report by Gloria Lockett, Executive Director of Cal PEP, a prevention education outreach agency providing services mostly within African American communities, as well as a former prostitute, presents her perspective and experiences in the context of neighborhood issues.

The Research Committee

I. Introduction

At the first two meetings of the Research Committee, it was decided that the purpose of the Committee was to obtain information and data relating to prostitution from domestic and international sources. The Committee is organizing the information by city and area, as well as by more specific categories such as laws, health and social service programs, zoning issues, licensing, HIV policies, testing, migration, demographics, and legal reform, among other topics. In addition, the committee obtained the findings and recommendations of other cities' task force efforts, such as those undertaken in San Diego and Portland, Oregon.

While the gathering of information is continuing, the Research Committee will meet with the other Task Force committees to augment those committees' research efforts as well as to prevent a duplication of efforts.

II. Reports and Areas of Investigation

A. Library of Articles about Prostitution Available at City Hall (Exhibit A)

A collection of 40 articles has been compiled and indexed, and is available for public review in the office of Supervisor Terence Hallinan (City Hall, Room 235). These materials deal with prostitution issues from a wide variety of perspectives, including those of prostitutes' rights and anti-prostitution organizations, as well as sex workers' autobiographical materials, cost analyses regarding the enforcement of anti-prostitution laws, materials concerning neighborhood organizing, and information about local and international laws.

B. Prostitution News from Around the World (Exhibit B)

Articles from international news services and additional sources have been compiled for the use of the Task Force on Prostitution. These materials describe current prostitution issues at the forefront of media concern on an international basis. The materials are available for public review in the office of Supervisor Terence Hallinan (City Hall, Room 235).

C. Prostitution Reform in the Context of Urban Reform

In June, the Research Committee discussed the issue of prostitution reform in the context of urban reform. Committee members agreed to organize a forum to present a variety of perspectives on the question of urban reform, addressing issues such as community policing and police reform; drug use, laws and policy; gentrification and polarization of the economy; racism, urban crime and violence. Speakers sought include Mimi Silbert (criminologist and founder of the Delancey

Street Program in San Francisco), Charles Gain (former San Francisco Police Chief), Kevin Mullin (former Police Deputy), Julie Pearl (see *Hastings Law Journal*, 4/87), Peter McWilliams (author, *Ain't Nobody's Business*) and others.

III. Projects and Reports In Progress

A. Prostitutes' Resources and Services - National and International (Exhibit C)

Research Committee members are investigating and compiling material regarding a study of services and service organizations for prostitutes nationally and internationally. Peer-based resources include: SWOP (Sex Workers' Outreach Project, Australia), the Red Thread (Amsterdam, the Netherlands), Toronto Safe Sex Project, Cal PEP (Oakland, California), SCOT PEP (Scotland), Empower (Thailand). Information regarding San Francisco resources will be compiled by the San Francisco Department of Public Health. Alternative programs include Genesis House (Chicago), PRIDE (St. Paul), WHISPER (Minneapolis), Mary Magdalene Project (Los Angeles), the Coalition for Prostitution Alternatives (Portland, Oregon) and others. Drug treatment resources include a drug court program in Dallas, San Francisco programs such as Walden House, and other drug programs around the United States.

B. Drug Policy Study (Exhibit D)

Drug Addiction and Prostitution

Many women and men who are addicted to drugs turn to prostitution as a means of paying for their addiction. High black market prices are one of the factors creating a large and steady population of addicted men and women working as prostitutes on the streets¹⁸. Although some look towards European and other international models which treat drug use as a health, rather than a criminal, issue, San Francisco cannot simply adopt international models of harm reduction.¹⁹ Some people are exploring alternatives to prohibition that may in turn eliminate black markets, with their high prices and turf wars that make our neighborhood streets so dangerous.

¹⁸ Substance users work in both indoor and outdoor venues. However, many users engage in street prostitution, for various reasons (ie, indoor venues will not employ those who are most severely affected by addiction). Some Task Force members, such as the US PROstitutes Collective, do not agree that prostitutes have a higher drug use than the rest of the population, and believe that the stereotype of drug-crazed hookers is one that has to be challenged. In the view of these members, although there are drug addicts working as prostitutes, drug use is widespread among all sectors of the population.

¹⁹ Emerging out of community-based, public health interventions, *harm reduction* is a set of strategies and tactics that addresses health issues for users who are not able to practice abstinence for one reason or another. Users are encouraged and supported in their efforts to to reduce harm done to themselves and loved ones. San Francisco's Prevention Point's needle exchange program, which has served as a model for other national programs, is one example which addresses the health needs of IV drug users.

In response to these dynamics, the Research Committee is looking at laws and policies as well as programs that deal directly with drug addiction, including harm reduction strategies in conjunction with the San Francisco Drug Advisory Board's Harm Reduction Task Force.

The Intersection of Policies and Programs

Some service providers, as well as some former prostitutes, indicate that court-mandated drug treatment contributed positively towards their recovery from addiction. On the other hand some providers object to mandated programs as a treatment strategy, and call for more resources for accessible volunteer programs.

The Research Committee will examine the issues of access to treatment in mandated and voluntary programs in the context of current prostitution and drug laws.

C. Prostitution and Ancillary Criminal Activity

Theft and violence

Complaints about ancillary or associated crimes that accompany prostitution are central to objections to street prostitution. The relationship between prostitution and crimes involving theft and violence on neighborhood streets represents another intersection between law, policy, and the safety and well-being of San Franciscans.

Because prostitution is illegal, a criminal act, prostitutes are especially vulnerable to violent, abusive and exploitative persons. According to some prostitutes, within criminalized systems they are reluctant to come forward, not only regarding overt violence, but also regarding theft and other non-violent crimes against them, and when they do, their complaints are seldom taken seriously by the police. As a result, they become excellent targets. In that sense, criminalized prostitution (rather than prostitution *per se*) becomes a breeding ground for ancillary crimes, attracting a criminal element, increasing incidents of violence (and theft) against individuals including prostitutes. In addition, poverty and prejudice may be seen as "breeding conditions" for various types of crimes.

The Research Committee will continue to examine the issues of ancillary crime and prostitution as it affects residents in transitional neighborhoods as well as San Franciscans in general, including populations most impacted by violent crime (women, poor and homeless, immigrants, people of color, transgendered people).

IV. Future Projects

A. Report on International Activism and Prostitutes' Self-Help Groups

Over the past years Task Force member Gloria Lockett has traveled to Japan to negotiate with the organizers of the International Conference on AIDS, and to present materials at the conference. This year's conference included numerous reports concerning prostitution around the world. Since 1987 she has participated in a number of international AIDS conferences as well as sex workers' rights conferences, and she is in the process of compiling a report which includes the information she has culled.

Ms. Lockett's experience includes information about the ways prostitutes have been working together to promote health and safety through organizations in Amsterdam, the Netherlands; Australia; Brussels, Belgium; Japan; Norway; and Canada.

V. Exhibits: The Research Committee

A. Library of Articles about Prostitution Available at City Hall - An index of 40 articles available to the Task Force.

B. Prostitution News from Around The World - Articles from international news services and additional sources.

C. Alternatives: Programs and Services - Preliminary summaries include brief descriptions of two residential programs and a drug treatment program. Additional research will include other recovery and treatment programs and projects.

D. Drugs: The Intersection of Policies and Programs - Investigations of drug laws, policies and services as they intersect with issues of prostitution.

E. Self-Help and Advocacy Projects and Resources - A list of national and international self-help and advocacy resources for prostitutes, educators and researchers.

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